1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
831 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (ĭikŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 [524] [462] Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāĭ on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock [126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 323 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in ooo the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

● 323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

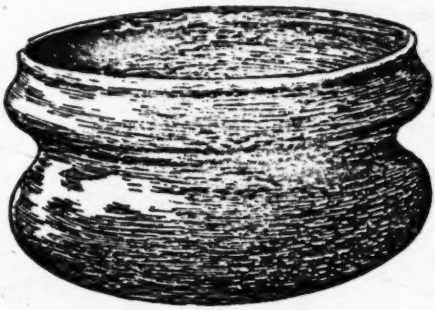
According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 106 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling. 252

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hõlẽnĭ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed



Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

[915]

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wădjĭwĭ, wădšĭwĭ) are made of gray clay; their typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters; the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wădjĭwĭ. [323]

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĭ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as [262]

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/282 cont./

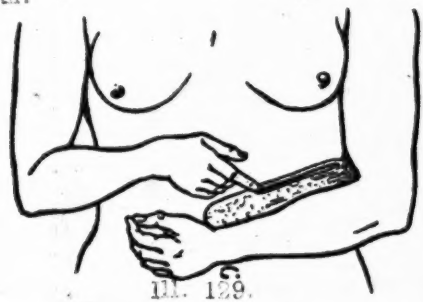
323 317 [462] E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery, which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (zoŭ) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is mãŭzĭ (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 [824] Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ādēnă) of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/283 cont./

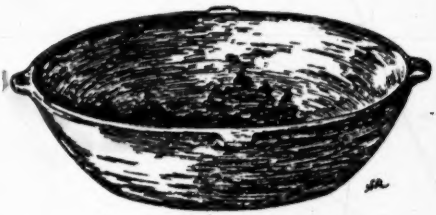
323 After this the vessels are dried slightly in the sun and then fired. This is done on an ordinary hearth. I observed how a large cooking pot stood on three hearth shards with the opening downward and was being fired by a fire underneath it (Ill. 131). I am unable to say whether a firing is also done from the outside. I did not see the use of the termite hill as a kiln, as Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19), anywhere during the dry season; the shaping and firing always took place on the sandbanks on the ordinary hearth.



Ill. 129.
Pressing the groove into the roll of clay.

Ill. 130.
Placing the roll of clay on the edge of the bottom of the vessel.

Ill. 131.
Firing the pot.



Ill. 132.
Clay bowl with four protuberances on the rim.

415 Large cooking pots, grave urns which are nothing more than huge cooking pots with a lid, three-legged cooking pots, and bowls are made. All these vessels are called wädjiwï. Concerning the sun-dried clay dolls as toys, see p. 247.

The shapes are very simple: the common type is the slightly curved double-conical shape (Ill. 89); the double-bellied pot (Ill. 90) is rare; and the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91) is also not too /284/ frequent. Dishes are rare; the most frequent are the shallow bowls (see Ill. 95 /see p. 172/). The eating dish with the four rim-protuberances (Ill. 132) is most peculiar; perhaps it is the result of Brazilian influence, which is

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

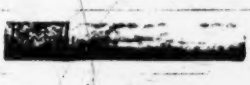
8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.



9. Bamboo trumpet.

/362 cont./

312 415 531 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 [438] 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 184 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here, too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjīwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (ā̆z̆ōdāŏ̆, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically [323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ā̆z̆ō) or black (ā̆z̆ōdĕbĕ̆) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [831] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 829 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they 534 cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for 824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long, [824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,